

AMERICAN
HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

VOL. I, NO. 1

REPORT OF THE
ORGANIZATION AND PROCEEDINGS

BARBARA, SEPTEMBER 1900

BY HERBERT E. ADAMS

Secretary of the Association

NEW YORK

1901

AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION,

Organized at Saratoga, N. Y., September 30, 1884.

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II.

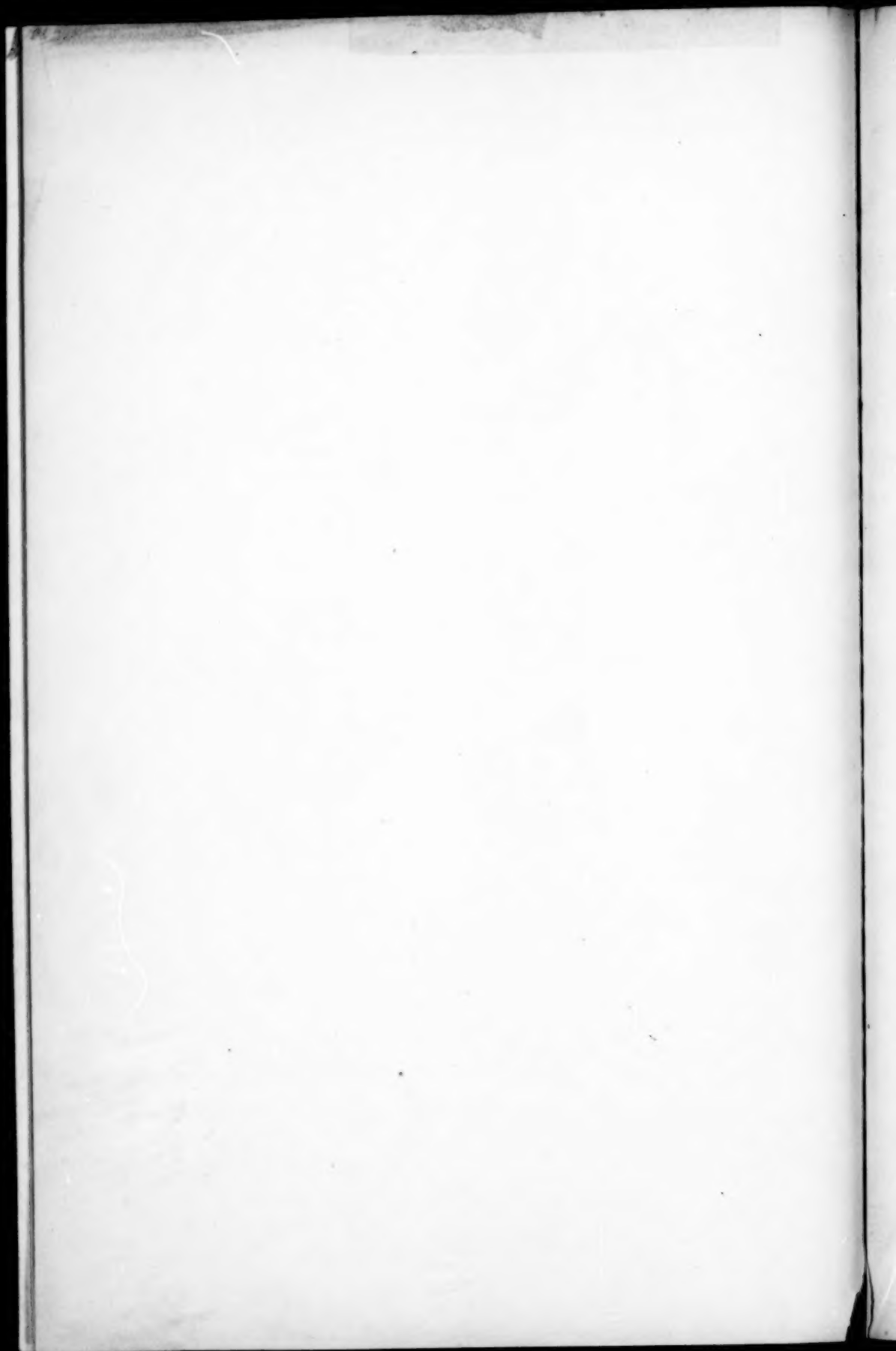
Its object shall be the promotion of historical studies.

III.

Any person approved by the Executive Council may become a member by paying three dollars; and after the first year may continue a member by paying an annual fee of three dollars. On payment of twenty-five dollars any person may become a life-

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V.

The Executive Council shall have charge of the general interests of the Association, including the election of members, the calling of meetings, the selection of papers to be read, and the determination of what papers shall be published.

VI.

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- Wright, Col. Carroll D., Bureau of Statistics of Labor, Washington, D.C.
- Yager, Professor Arthur, Georgetown, Ky.
- Young, Rev. Edward J., Cambridge, Mass. (*Total 409, including 72 Life Members.*)

N. B.—Corrections in the above list should be sent to the Secretary.

BUSINESS ANNOUNCEMENT.

THE American Historical Association will publish original contributions to History in the form of serial monographs, each complete in itself, bearing its own title, pagination, and price. The monographs will, however, be numbered in the order of their publication, and paged not only each for itself, but each continuously with the series, so that when complete the entire volume may be bound and indexed. Members of the Association, in consideration of their annual fee of \$3, paid to the Treasurer, will receive the publications of the Association as soon as issued from the press of G. P. Putnam's Sons, 27 and 29 West 23d Street, New York City. Other persons can obtain these monographs, each at its retail price, from the publishers or through any bookseller. All who wish to become regular subscribers for the papers of the Association, on condition of payment of \$4.00 in advance to the Publishers, are assured that they will receive by mail, in regular order and as soon as published, the several monographs composing the First Volume, which will comprise about 500 pages, with an index and general title-page. When completed the First Volume will be offered in bound form at a price to be hereafter determined by the supply. The monographs will be issued at convenient intervals. The following numbers are now ready.

No. 1. *Report of the Organization and Proceedings of the American Historical Association at Saratoga, September 9-10, 1884.* By HERBERT B. ADAMS, *Secretary of the Association.* Price 50 cents.

No. 2. *An Address on Studies in General History and*

the History of Civilization. By ANDREW D. WHITE, First President of the Association. Price 50 cents.

No. 3. *History and Management of Federal Land Grants for Education in the Northwest Territory.* By GEORGE W. KNIGHT, Ph.D., University of Michigan. Price \$1.00.

No. 4. *The Louisiana Purchase in its Influence upon the American System.* By RT. REV. C. F. ROBERTSON, Bishop of Missouri. Price 50 cents.

No. 5. *History of the Appointing Power of the President.* By LUCY M. SALMON, A.M., University of Michigan. Price \$1.00.

No. 6. *Report of the Proceedings of the American Historical Association at Saratoga, September 8-10, 1885.* By HERBERT B. ADAMS, Secretary of the Association. Price 50 cents.

An index, general title-page, and table of contents will soon be furnished to the above six Papers, thus completing the first volume, which may then be bound.

All orders, subscriptions, business communications, etc., should be addressed to the Publishers, Messrs. G. P. PUTNAM'S SONS, 27 and 29 West 23d Street, New York City, or 27 King William Street, Strand, London.

[From "*The Nation*," New York, September 18, 1884.]

A NEW HISTORICAL MOVEMENT.

THE American Historical Association, which was called to its first annual meeting at Saratoga on September 9th, under the auspices of the Social Science Association, has shown its American character by declaring independence and adopting a constitution. The object of the new Association is the promotion of historical studies in this country, not in a narrow or provincial sense, but in a liberal spirit which shall foster not merely American history, but history in America. There are already many historical societies throughout the land, but they are devoted to interests more or less sectional or local. There are State historical societies, County, and even Town societies, that for many years have been doing historical work of great value, although they are necessarily restricted in most cases to the historical ground represented by the society's name. There is clearly room for an historical society which shall be neither local nor sectional, but truly national. We understand that this enlarged idea of an American historical association, representing all parts of the country and history in general, is the outgrowth of the catholic spirit represented by some of our American colleges and universities, where students from various sections learn national and liberal ideas and catch glimpses of the world through the science of history. The American Historical Association is not, however, to be restricted to academic circles ; it will open its ranks to historical specialists and active workers everywhere, whether in this country or in Europe, in State or local historical societies, or in any isolated individual field. In the words of the constitution, which is remarkable for its brevity, "Any person approved by the Executive Council may become a member by paying \$3.00" which is the annual fee. The payment of \$25.00, under the above condition of executive approval, secures life-membership and exemption from the annual dues.

This form of discounting the future, and of settling with the treasurer of an active and growing association with promise of long life, would be good economy for young American specialists in history.

There were enrolled at the organization in Saratoga 41 active members, one of them for life. No honorary members in this country are to be elected, and none in Europe have as yet been chosen; but the Executive Council has selected 120 well-known American students of history, living in different parts of the country, to whom invitations to accept active membership will shortly be extended by the Secretary. This number of select members will be increased during the coming year by the Council, which has full power to pass final or suspensive judgment upon nominations that may be communicated to this body through the Secretary. The Council consists of the regular officers of the Association, viz.: the President, Andrew D. White, President of Cornell University; two Vice-Presidents, Professors Justin Winsor, of Harvard College, and Charles Kendall Adams, of the University of Michigan; Secretary, Dr. Herbert B. Adams (whose address is Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore); Treasurer, Clarence Winthrop Bowen, (whose address is *The Independent*, New York City); and four associates in Council, Mr. Charles Deane of Cambridge, Mr. William B. Weeden of Providence, Professors E. Emerton, of Harvard College, and Moses Coit Tyler, of Cornell University. In this Executive Council, which has entire charge of the general interests of the Association, the academic element appears to dominate, but men of affairs are also represented, and the name of Charles Deane is of itself sufficient to command the confidence of State historical societies throughout the country.

It may not be known to many of our readers, for it certainly was known to but few members of the American Historical Association at the time of its organization, that there was once in this country an "American Historical Society," having its seat in Washington, D. C., and occasional meetings in the House of Representatives at the Capitol. The Society was founded in the year 1836. Its first President was John Quincy Adams, and its most active member was probably Peter Force, to whom this country owes a great debt of gratitude for the publication of many rare tracts relating to our early colonial history, and for his laborious work in collecting the "American Archives." A large portion of the first volume of the Transactions of the American Historical Society, which was exhibited at Saratoga by Doctor Parsons, delegate from the Rhode Island Historical Society,

consists of reprints by Peter Force of such ancient memoirs and historical tracts as appear in his own well-known collections, so that we may properly associate the work of the first American Historical Society, with the most valuable line of historical publication ever undertaken in this country—for the individual work of Peter Force, in connection with this Society of Washington residents and politicians, who met in the House of Representatives, developed into a national undertaking. Although publication of the "American Archives" by the general government was long ago suspended, it is important to remember that many volumes of state papers collected by Peter Force yet remain for publication, and that possibly some influence can be exerted upon Congress by the new Association toward the resumption of a good work left unfinished. The old Society, while national in name, was really a local organization of residents in Washington City, with a few honorary members in the individual States and in various European countries. The new Society is to be a national association of active workers from many local centres of academic learning and corporate influence. Although without a local habitation, it will doubtless soon have a good name in the land which gave it birth, and it will probably enjoy a longer life and greater usefulness than did its Washington predecessor, a Society whose lifework was confined to a few annual addresses by distinguished politicians and to reprints of papers not its own.

An active, creative spirit is the one thing needful in the American Historical Association which is now to be. Other societies, together with the State and National governments, will continue to attend to the publication of archives; but this new Association is designed for original work. A pamphlet will soon be issued by the Secretary containing a report of the proceedings at Saratoga, September 9th, 10th, the constitution of the Association, abstracts of all the papers read, and President White's public address on "Synthetic Studies in History," which advocates the synthesis of special work into general forms—an idea quite in harmony with that of the American Historical Association, which is but a general union of the best elements of all our special societies and our local schools of history. Other publications will follow, probably in the form of separate monographs, which may be ultimately combined into serial volumes. For this purpose the annual fees of a large Society, with few current expenses, will no doubt accomplish much, but the endowment of research in special lines, and the establishment of a publication fund, are imperatively needed.



REPORT OF THE
ORGANIZATION AND PROCEEDINGS
OF THE
AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

SARATOGA, SEPTEMBER 9-10, 1884



PAPERS
OF THE
AMERICAN
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Secretary of the Association

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SECRETARY'S REPORT

OF THE

ORGANIZATION AND PROCEEDINGS,

SARATOGA, SEPTEMBER 9-10, 1884.

THE CALL FOR A CONVENTION.

IN June, 1884, after some correspondence between individuals interested in the formation of an American Historical Association, the following call for a convention at Saratoga, September 9, 1884, was issued by the undersigned, acting as a provisional committee :

"It is proposed to organize, under the auspices of the American Social Science Association, during the next annual session at Saratoga, September 8-12, 1884, an American Historical Association, consisting of professors, teachers, specialists, and others interested in the advancement of history in this country. The objects of the proposed Association are the exchange of ideas and the widening of acquaintance, the discussion of methods and original papers. Such an Association will certainly prove of great advantage to American teachers and students who are now more or less isolated in their fields of work. Friends of history can profit by association with one another and also with specialists in the kindred subjects of social science, jurisprudence, and po-

litical economy, which are represented at this annual meeting in Saratoga. By conference with co-workers historical students may widen their horizon of interest and cause their individual fields of labor to become more fruitful. The advantages of meeting at Saratoga are obvious. It is an excellent environment, attractive to all. The Social Science Association has already established itself at Saratoga, and offers the advantages of its name and existing organization, the use of its hall for historical sessions, and special rates at the United States Hotel during the week of the Social Science convention.

"Arrangements will be made for the presentation of a few original papers, in abstract, at the first meeting of the American Historical Association, which will be held in Putnam Hall, Saratoga, Tuesday, September 9, 1884, at 4 P.M.

"Signed: John Eaton, President American Social Science Association; F. B. Sanborn, Secretary American Social Science Association; C. K. Adams, Professor of History, University of Michigan; M. C. Tyler, Professor of History, Cornell University; H. B. Adams, Associate Professor of History, Johns Hopkins University."

This call was published in the annual circular of the American Social Science Association, and was sent to all the members of that Society—over three hundred in number,—comprising many persons interested in the progress of historical and political studies in America. The call was also printed in a form distinct from the Social Science circular, and was sent to many persons not members of that Association. Although doubtless many writers, students, and teachers of history were passed over in consequence of defective methods of distribution and an inadequate supply of circulars, yet it was intended by the committee to extend the call to historical specialists, antiquarians, and professors of history throughout the country. The circular was sent, for example, to all contributors to (1) "The American Statesmen" Series, (2) "The American Commonwealths" Series, and (3) "The Narrative and Critical

History of America." Circulars were also sent to State historical societies and to many local organizations, to public libraries and reading-rooms, to representative journals in various States, and to magazines specially devoted to history. The call was reprinted in full by the *Magazine of American History*, August, 1884, and the press of the country strongly encouraged the project of forming an American Historical Association. As indicative of public opinion, the notices published in *The Nation*, *Springfield Republican*, *Boston Advertiser*, *Boston Herald*, *The Press* (Philadelphia), and the religious journals of the country, were both encouraging and suggestive.

As influences tending to encourage and shape the idea of an historical organization of a national character, some of these press notices deserve to be placed on record by the Association. The *Springfield Republican* printed the following editorial note :

"An American Historical Association is one of the felt wants of this country, and it is proposed to form such an association during the next session of the American Social Science Association at Saratoga, September 8th-12th. The opportunity is favorable, as the occasion brings together a great many scholars and educators who naturally take interest in the study of history and the working of causes on events, and the others who will be drawn to Saratoga for this special object will share the advantages of the Social Science Association, its hall for their meetings, and its special rates at the United States Hotel. Arrangements are to be made for starting the new association with a number of historical papers in abstract, at the organizing meeting, September 9th."

The Independent contained an editorial notice as follows :

"As the number of American scholars and specialists increases, it is but natural that they should seek to form associations where the special branches of study in which they are interested can receive the combined attention of all who are eminent in one sphere or the other. Thus, we have our American Philological Association, our American

Oriental Society, our American Association of Science, our American Social Science Association, etc. It is now proposed to add to these an American Historical Association, to consist of professors, teachers, specialists, and others interested in the advancement of historical study and research in this country. Many excellent local historical societies exist throughout the country, but they are insufficient; a national society is needed. A call for the organization of such an association has been issued under the auspices of the Social Science Association, and signed by its president and secretary and by the professors of history in the University of Michigan, in Cornell University, and in Johns Hopkins University. The first meeting of the new association will be held in Saratoga on the 9th of September, 1884. The advantages to the country of such an association are too obvious to need expression or enumeration. Matters of national historical importance are constantly coming up, which must often be neglected simply because they do not seem to come within the province of any existing organization. It would seem that such an organization as an American Historical Association should play an important part in the proposed celebration of the fourth centenary of the discovery of America. From this point of view, at least, the call is timely."

The Nation of September 4th contained the following "Note":

"The American Historical Association, which is to be organized this year in connection with the Social Science Association, will hold its first meeting at Saratoga in Putnam Hall on Tuesday, September 9th, at 4 P.M. After a preliminary session, the friends of the new organization will adjourn for subsequent meetings, during the Social Science convention, at such time and place as may be most convenient. Communications are expected from Professors Charles Kendall Adams, of Michigan University, and Moses Coit Tyler, of Cornell, and from representatives of Harvard, Yale, and Johns Hopkins. President Andrew D. White, of Cornell University, will be present at this meeting of

the Association, and has been invited to address it. Dr. Frank Austin Scott, Professor of History in Rutgers College, and for a long time associated with Mr. George Bancroft, will present a paper upon 'The Law of Constitutional Development in the United States.' Other communications upon the progress of historical research in this country will be announced at the first meeting of the Association. It is hoped that this organization of American students and teachers of history will prove highly advantageous, not only for the promotion of historical study in new and profitable lines of inquiry, but also for the widening of acquaintance and good-fellowship among workers in the same field. It is not so much the reading of papers that advances science in these American and British associations—it is the association itself; it is the meeting of men and the exchange of ideas."

The *Boston Herald*, two days before the meeting of the Association, published an editorial from which the following extracts are taken:

"The organization of the American Historical Association at Saratoga next Tuesday, in connection with the Social Science Association, is understood to mean an attempt to give historical studies in this country a larger scope and purpose, and to place them upon a scientific basis. * * * What is now needed is the meeting of men engaged in these studies and their interchange of ideas. The historian is usually an isolated individual who has grown gray before he becomes widely known. It is high time that he came out of his seclusion and breathed the wholesome air of public affairs. By conference with their co-workers, historical students may widen their horizon of interest, and cause their individual fields of labor to become more fruitful. Their association with specialists in the kindred fields of social science, jurisprudence, and political economy will be helpful in the same direction. The prospect is that the first meeting will be distinguished in the attendance of leading historical students, and that in the exchange of ideas, the widening of acquaintance, the discussion of methods and of

original papers, the future historians of the country will find themselves greatly strengthened. It will be chiefly a gathering of the younger school of writers, like Prof. C. K. Adams, Prof. Moses Coit Tyler, Judge Chamberlain, President White, Dr. Frank Austin Scott, and representatives from Harvard, Yale, and Johns Hopkins, but it will be representative of all the best interests of American historical scholarship, and will for the first time give them a national and adequate organization. Too much cannot be made of such an institution. It registers the rise of a new generation of Americans and the growth of a better method in the study of history."

PRELIMINARY BUSINESS MEETING.

Pursuant to the "Call," which had been widely published in the ways above described, a convention of historical specialists, students, and professors assembled at Saratoga under the auspices of the Social Science Association, the Secretary of which, Mr. F. B. Sanborn, publicly announced the historical programme. Previous to the first regular assembly in Putnam Hall, a private gathering of the friends of the Historical Association was held in one of the small parlors of the United States Hotel, to discuss the question of organization, *i. e.*, whether the new Society should be an independent body, or a section of the Social Science Association. There were present at this discussion about twenty-five persons, including President Andrew D. White, of Cornell University, and President Francis A. Walker, of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology; Professors Justin Winsor and E. Emerton, with Instructors Channing, Scott, and Francke, from Harvard College; Professors M. C. Tyler, T. F. Crane, from Cornell University; Professor Charles Kendall Adams, from the University of Michigan; Dr. H. B. Adams, of Johns Hopkins University; Professor Allen C. Thomas, of Haverford College; Hon. John Eaton, United States Commissioner of Education; Charles Deane, LL.D., Vice-President of the Massachusetts Historical Society; Dr. Charles W. Parsons and William B. Weeden,

Esq., of the Rhode Island Historical Society; Mendes Cohen, Esq., Secretary of the Maryland Historical Society; Clarence Winthrop Bowen, Ph.D., of *The Independent*, and several other college graduates and men of affairs.

The meeting was called to order by Professor Moses Coit Tyler, who nominated Mr. Justin Winsor to act as Chairman, which nomination was carried *viva voce*. Professor Charles Kendall Adams then nominated Dr. Herbert B. Adams to act as Secretary *pro tempore*; this was also carried. The Chairman then made a few remarks, of which the following is a brief summary:

We have come, gentlemen, to organize a new society, and fill a new field. Existing historical societies are local, by States and divisions of States, and give themselves to the history of our own country. The only one not plainly by its title local, the American Antiquarian Society, is nevertheless very largely confined in its researches to New England subjects, though it sometimes stretches its ken to Central America and the Northwest. But our proposed name, though American by title, is not intended to confine our observations to this continent. We are to be simply American students devoting ourselves to historical subjects, without limitation in time or place. So no one can regard us as a rival of any other historical association in this country.

We are drawn together because we believe there is a new spirit of research abroad,—a spirit which emulates the laboratory work of the naturalists, using that word in its broadest sense. This spirit requires for its sustenance mutual recognition and suggestion among its devotees. We can deduce encouragement and experience stimulation by this sort of personal contact. Scholars and students can no longer afford to live isolated. They must come together to derive that zest which arises from personal acquaintance, to submit idiosyncrasies to the contact of their fellows, and they come from the convocation healthier and more circumspect.

The future of this new work is in the young men of the historical instinct,—largely in the rising instructors of our colleges; and I am glad to see that they have not failed us in the present movement. Along with me from Harvard came hither such; and I perceive other colleges have sent the same sort of representatives. Those of us who are older are quickened by their presence.

The Chairman thereupon requested a statement of the object of the special meeting. Professor M. C. Tyler said the main question related to the dependent or independent status of the Historical Association, and thereupon introduced the following resolution in order to test the will of the convention:

"*Resolved*, That it is advisable to form an American Historical Association upon an independent basis."

William A. Mowry, editor of the *School Journal*, first supported this motion on general grounds, and was followed by William B. Weeden, of Providence, who said that the proposed Association must interest three classes of men, viz.: those writing, those teaching, and those studying history. The Society ought to be in fullest coöperation with the Social Science Association, whose interests bordered upon those of the Historical Association; but the latter ought not to be an integral part of the Social Science organization. Professor Charles Kendall Adams said there had been some correspondence and discussion touching the formation of an American Historical Association; that the call for the first meeting under the auspices of the Social Science Association was merely a prudential measure; and that the present representation seemed to justify independence rather than alliance. Professor Allen C. Thomas, of Haverford College, spoke of the prominence of historical studies in this country, and of the growing strength of this department in American colleges, urging these considerations in favor of establishing at once an independent and vigorous organization. Mr. Charles Deane, of the Massachusetts Historical Society, said it was a question of expediency rather than of principle whether the Association should constitute itself upon an independent footing. If the new body was to be formed from the Social Science Association, or if it was the natural outgrowth of the same, it might properly remain a subsidiary section; but if it contained new blood and was under no special obligations to the Social Science Association, it might quite as well declare independence at the outset. The Chairman assured the convention that there were no entangling alliances, and that the circular had been sent to very many persons outside the Social Science Association.

Hon. John Eaton, President of the American Social Science Association, took the floor in opposition to the resolution. He said the tendency of scholarship in this

country was toward excessive specialization. He thought students should seek larger relations than their own field of work afforded. The Social Science organization enabled scholars who are working in different fields, *e. g.*, in jurisprudence, political economy, social economy, and education, to compare results and to profit by one another's labors. There was perfect independence for the individual sections in the Social Science organization. The President exercised no control whatever over the secretaries of departments. The various sections were equal allies for the propaganda of social science; and through the publication of the collective proceedings by the Association, a wider public was reached than was naturally open to any individual section. There could be perfect independence within the Social Science Association. An Historical Section could meet where and when it pleased. There was a certain prestige attached to large and well-organized associations; scientific bodies ought not to be organized for too narrow specialities. There ought to be general coöperation in allied subjects. The American Association for the Advancement of Science had practically ignored historical questions and the social questions growing out of history. It had dealt rather with things prehistoric and with American archæology. A new section had indeed lately been instituted in the interest of political economy, but it opened with only two hearers. The British Association, on the contrary, has always laid great stress upon the historical side of scientific work, and there are indications that in this country history, instead of being at the end of the sciences, is going to be at the head.

Clarence Winthrop Bowen, Ph.D., said that he asked a professor of history in New York City whether he meant to attend the Historical Association at Saratoga. The professor said "No," for he had understood that it was to be merely a section of the Social Science Association; he preferred an independent organization. Mr. Bowen thought that this opinion represented the prevailing idea among students and friends of history throughout the country.

There was certainly room for a national historical association. He favored a representation wider than that afforded by the colleges, and would be glad to see vice-presidents, or directors, of the Association chosen from each State, and to hear annual reports of the progress of historical work in different sections of this country. Professor Emerton of Harvard College, in answer to the argument of General Eaton, said that no one realized more keenly than himself the narrowing effects of excessive specialization; but he thought that history was different from such specialties as prison reform, charities, etc., for history was itself a very broad subject, capable of as many subdivisions as social science. President White of Cornell University agreed with General Eaton as to the advantage of specialists in historical and social science meeting in a place like Saratoga, which is so generally attractive; but he thought the membership of the American Historical Association would soon be as large as that of the body under whose auspices we were now assembled. A happy compromise could be attained if the Historical Association, organized upon an independent footing, should be called together for its next annual meeting at Saratoga shortly before or immediately after the session of the Social Science Association, so that members of the two bodies might attend each other's meetings, and thus the various sections of historical, sociological, and economic work profit by scientific intercourse.

President Francis A. Walker, of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, said the main advantage of connection with a large and well-organized body of inquirers, like that represented by the Social Science Association, lay in the continuity of work secured by the entire body, for individual sections and individual members often flagged in their activity. The experience of the Social Science Association had shown that the main current of interest was now in this section, now in that; but, however variable the individual sections, the Association as a whole went steadily forward, the strong aiding the weak. But for this coöperation of various departments there would have been, perhaps, some break in the conti-

nuity of each. A section is carried on by the energy of a few men, and when these fail, all fails. It is much safer for a new association, which has not tried its strength, to start in connection with an older and stronger body; but if the strength of the American Historical Association is already well assured in point of numbers and in moneyed contributions, immediate independence might prove a safe policy. The acting Secretary then said that the letters received by different members of the provisional committee had strongly favored a national society upon an independent basis. There had never been any question in the minds of the provisional committee as to the ultimate policy of the association; it was a policy of independence as soon as prudence justified it. Public opinion, the character and strength of the present representation, the number and quality of the papers contributed this year, indicated that the time for independence had already come. It was important, however, to strengthen the American Historical Association by future meetings in an attractive environment like Saratoga, and by coöperation with all branches of social science, which is naturally allied with history and politics.

The question was then called, and the resolution as proposed, that it was advisable to form an American Historical Association upon an independent basis, passed in the affirmative, and was made unanimous.

It was then moved by Professor C. K. Adams that the Chair appoint a Committee of Five to report at the first public session, in Putnam Hall, at 4 P.M., on a constitution for the American Historical Association. This motion passed by a unanimous vote. The Chair appointed Professor C. K. Adams, Clarence W. Bowen, Esq., Professor E. Emerton, William B. Weeden, Esq., and Professor M. C. Tyler. The Secretary was afterward added to this Committee on the Constitution, upon motion of Mr. Weeden.

It was moved by Professor M. C. Tyler that the acting Chairman and the Secretary *pro tempore* continue in their respective offices at the afternoon meeting, or until permanent organization could be perfected. The motion was

carried. Professor Emerton moved that the acting Secretary prepare a programme of the papers contributed this year to the proceedings of the American Historical Association, and announce the same at the first public session in Putnam Hall. This motion was also carried. The meeting then adjourned to meet for a public session at 4 P.M.

FIRST PUBLIC SESSION.

SARATOGA, *September 9, 1884.*

At four o'clock, Mr. Winsor, acting as Chairman, called to order the first public session of the proposed American Historical Association, meeting under the auspices of the Social Science Association, in Putnam Hall. The acting Secretary reported the results of the preliminary meeting, and announced the programme of exercises. Professor Charles Kendall Adams, Chairman of the Committee on the Constitution, being called upon to report, said that the committee had not yet finished its work, and moved that it be allowed to continue the same, and that when the present meeting adjourned it should adjourn to meet in business session the next day, September 10th, at 9 A.M., in one of the small parlors at the United States Hotel. This motion prevailed. The Chairman, Mr. Winsor, introduced Hon. Andrew D. White, President of Cornell University, who delivered an address "On Studies in General History and the History of Civilization," which is printed in full as No. 2 of the First Series of publications by the Association. The following is a brief abstract of the address:

Mr. White began by stating the fact that, as a rule, each country in history has special studies which its scholars can conduct better than those of any other country can, but that there is a great field in the general history of civilization open upon equal terms to the historical scholars of all countries. This field of general, philosophical, synthetical study he claimed was superior to special analytical study, and that both should go together. Proofs of this were adduced of a theoretical and practical sort, the latter being an exhibit of the work in both fields in various nations, and showing that the two go together, and that there is no great growth of one without a corresponding growth of the other. He assigned the first place at present to Germany, both for special and general work. He then took up the matter of general methods and tests im-

posed by the necessities of general history upon special history, showing that each field furnished tests for the other. As to purposes and methods, while giving great weight to the opinions of Herbert Spencer upon the study of history as laid down in his work on education, Mr. White insisted upon the necessity of careful limitations to those statements as regards facts worthy of study, giving examples of facts apparently useless but really of the very greatest importance, and among these various illustrations from ancient and modern history, especially from the recent history of the United States. With reference to this point also, while attributing great value to what Mr. Spencer calls descriptive sociology, he showed that many of the most vital facts are of a kind very difficult to be tabulated, and not likely to be inserted in tables of descriptive sociology such as those already published under the sanction of Mr. Spencer's name. He next took the special limitations of historical study in America, giving a remark of an American statesman that all history must be rewritten from an American point of view, which, while qualifying in some respects, he asserted, contained the germ of a truth. The next point was in regard to the necessity of general historical studies for giving breadth of view in American political life. He asserted that in the early days of the Republic such leaders as John Adams, Thomas Jefferson, and others were especially strengthened by such studies; that this was also the case in the transition period with such men as Calhoun, John Quincy Adams, Everett, and Webster; and in the recent period, with William H. Seward and Charles Sumner. He attributed the want of broad historical views among American statesmen at present to certain material necessities which have arisen since the Civil War, but showed that other interests were now arising absolutely requiring the study of American institutions and policies in the light of history.

As to instruction in history, he dwelt upon the fact that but few of the American universities give as yet any adequate historical instruction, but that there is a healthful tendency toward a better state of things. This tendency, he asserted, was in accordance with the development of historical thought in this age. In the last century, leading thinkers were philosophers; in this age, they are historians. Stress was laid upon Draper's idea that the greatest problem of humanity must be solved, not by metaphysical study of the individual man, but by historical study of men in general in their historical connections. In speaking of the development of the proposed American Historical Association, he expressed the hope that universities and colleges would form strong centres for its influence, and that at meetings, while special studies in American history should receive close attention, general studies upon the history of mankind and the history of civilization should have a section especially devoted to them. Such studies cannot be without a healthful influence upon the educational interests of the country on the one hand, and upon the better growth of statesmanship on the other.

After President White's address, Professor C. K. Adams read an extended abstract of a thesis, prepared under his direction, by George W. Knight, when a candidate for the degree of Ph.D. at the University of Michigan. The subject

was "Federal Land-Grants for Education in the Northwest Territory." The paper will appear in full as the third regular publication of the American Historical Association. The following is a brief *résumé* of its contents :

The origin and nature of the Federal endowment of education is well known to students of American history, but few have investigated how the States have utilized the grants. It was to the old Northwest Territory that Congress made the first grant for a seminary of learning. This territory contains at the same time the poorest and the best institutions in the Union. It would be an error to suppose that when, in July, 1787, the feeble Congress of the Confederation gave to the Ohio Company "two townships of good land for the support of a literary institution," they expected any great results from the gift, or anticipated that they were setting a precedent to be followed as often thereafter as a new State should be admitted to the Union. When once the lands had passed from the possession of Congress, the future weal or woe of the embryonic colleges depended entirely on the State. The only restriction was that the endowment should not be spent. The writer then reviewed the legislation of different States in regard to these endowments, showing how unwise legislation and poor management has crippled the institutions in many States. A brief study of the subject has indicated five causes for the failure to realize the full possibilities of these land-grants. An undue haste in organizing colleges has compelled a corresponding haste in disposing of the lands. The absence of restrictions on the Legislature has permitted it to place any price it chose upon the lands, and has generally resulted in extremely low prices. The Legislatures have been tempted to force sales in order to serve other purposes than those for which the grants were made. A carelessness in providing means of investing the funds has caused losses. The general lack of interest on the part of the people has enabled interested persons to obtain legislation to suit their special desires. The younger States of the West have been wise enough to enact constitutional safeguards against all of these evils. Other evils will undoubtedly arise, but it can hardly happen that the experience of the Northwest Territory will be repeated by the younger members of the Union.

FINAL ORGANIZATION.

The adjourned meeting was called to order for a business session at 9 A.M., September 10th, in a small parlor at the United States Hotel, by the acting Chairman, Mr. Winsor. There were present, in addition to those mentioned at the first preliminary meeting, President S. L. Caldwell of Vassar College, Judge Mellen Chamberlain, Librarian of the Boston Public Library, Judge Charles A. Peabody of New York, Judge Batcheller of Saratoga, Professor Austin Scott of Rutgers College, Professor Herbert Tuttle of Cor-

nell University, Dr. J. F. Jameson and Davis R. Dewey, of Johns Hopkins University, Henry E. Scott of Harvard University, Calvin H. Carter of Waterbury, Ct., William Henry Davis of Cincinnati, Ohio, and several other gentlemen. The acting Secretary said that the main item of unfinished business was the report on the Constitution. Professor C. K. Adams was then called upon to report in behalf of the committee, and presented the following articles:

CONSTITUTION
OF THE
AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION.

I.

The name of this Society shall be the American Historical Association.

II.

Its object shall be the promotion of historical studies.

III.

Any person approved by the Executive Council may become a member by paying three dollars; and after the first year may continue a member by paying an annual fee of three dollars. On payment of twenty-five dollars, any person may become a life-member exempt from assessments. Persons not residents in the United States may be elected as honorary members, and shall be exempt from the payment of assessments.

IV.

The officers shall be a President, two Vice-Presidents, a Secretary, a Treasurer, and an Executive Council consisting of the foregoing officers and of four other members elected by the Association. These officers shall be elected by ballot at each regular annual meeting of the Association.

V.

The Executive Council shall have charge of the general interests of the Association, including the election of members, the calling of meetings, the selection of papers to be read, and the determination of what papers shall be published.

VI.

This Constitution may be amended at any annual meeting, notice of such amendment having been given at the previous annual meeting, or the proposed amendment having received the approval of the Executive Council.

Upon motion of General John Eaton, this Constitution was unanimously adopted without amendment. General Eaton then moved that the Association proceed to the election of officers under the rules of the Constitution, and that a committee of three on nominations be appointed by the Chair, which motion was carried. The Chair appointed upon this committee General Eaton, Professor T. F. Crane of Cornell University, and Professor Austin Scott of Rutgers College. After consultation the committee on nominations reported the following board of officers:

President :—ANDREW D. WHITE, President of Cornell University, Ithaca, N. Y.

Vice-Presidents :—JUSTIN WINSOR, Librarian of Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass.; CHARLES KENDALL ADAMS, Professor of History, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Mich.

Secretary :—HERBERT B. ADAMS, Associate Professor of History, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md.

Treasurer :—CLARENCE WINTHROP BOWEN, No. 251 Broadway, New York.

Executive Council (in addition to the above-named officers) :—WILLIAM B. WEEDEN, Providence, R. I.; CHARLES DEANE, Cambridge, Mass.; MOSES COIT TYLER, Professor of American History, Cornell University, Ithaca, N. Y.; EPHRAIM EMERTON, Professor of Ecclesiastical History, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass.

Upon motion of Professor Tuttle, of Cornell University, the chairman of the committee on nominations was instructed to cast the ballot of the Association for this board. General Eaton thereupon cast the ticket approved by the Association, and the board of officers, as above reported, was declared elected by Mr. Winsor, who thereupon yielded the chair to President Andrew D. White, who said a few words of encouragement to the new Association.

Professor M. C. Tyler moved that a recess of ten minutes be allowed, wherein persons desiring to join the new Association might present their names to the Secretary and pay their fees to the Treasurer. The motion was carried *nem. con.* During the recess, or at subsequent times during the day (September 10th), the following names were enrolled. The list comprises the names of persons actually present at business meetings of the Association, together with a few others who had requested enrollment by proxy.

ORIGINAL MEMBERS

OF THE

AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION.

Enrolled at its Organization, September 10, 1884.

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|---|--|
| Adams, Professor Charles Kendall,
University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Mich. | Dewey, Davis R., Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md. |
| Adams, Dr. Herbert B., Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md. | Eaton, Hon. John, U. S. Commissioner of Education, Washington, D. C. |
| Bowen, Clarence W., Ph.D., <i>The Independent</i> , Broadway, New York City. | Egleston, Melville, Esq., 195 Broadway, New York City. |
| Caldwell, S. L., LL.D., President Vassar College, Poughkeepsie, N. Y. | Emerton, Professor E., Harvard College, Cambridge, Mass. |
| Carter, Hon. Calvin H., Waterbury, Conn. | Francke, Dr. Kuno, Harvard College, Cambridge, Mass. |
| Chamberlain, Judge Mellen, Boston Public Library, Mass. | Gay, Sidney Howard, Esq., West New Brighton, Staten Island, N. Y. |
| Channing, Dr. Edward, Harvard College, Cambridge, Mass. | Harris, William T., LL.D., Concord, Mass. |
| Cohen, Mendes, Cor. Sec., Maryland Historical Society, Baltimore, Md. | Hayes, Hon. Rutherford B., Fremont, Ohio. |
| Crane, Professor T. F., Cornell University, Ithaca, N. Y. | Jameson, Dr. J. F., Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md. |
| Davis, William Henry, Esq., Cincinnati, Ohio. | Johnston, Professor Alexander, Princeton, N. J. |
| Deane, Charles, LL.D., Cambridge, Mass. | King, Hon. Rufus, Cincinnati, Ohio. |

- Kingsbury, F. J., Esq., Waterbury, Conn.
Levermore, Charles H., Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md.
Markham, J. C., Esq., Jersey City, N. J.
Parsons, Dr. Charles W., Providence, R. I.
Peabody, Judge Charles A., 60 West 21st Street, New York City.
Phelan, James, Esq., 56 Court Street, Memphis, Tenn.
Read, General Meredith, care of Messrs. John Munroe & Co., 32 Nassau Street, New York City.
Rice, Professor R. A., Williams College, Williamstown, Mass.
Scott, Professor Austin, Rutgers College, New Brunswick, N. J.
Scott, Henry E., Harvard College, Cambridge, Mass.
Thomas, Professor Allen C., Haverford College P. O., Pa.
Tuttle, Professor Herbert, Cornell University, Ithaca, N. Y.
Tyler, Professor Moses Coit, Cornell University, Ithaca, N. Y.
Walker, General Francis A., President Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Boston, Mass.
Weeden, William B., Esq., Providence, R. I.
White, Hon. Andrew D., President Cornell University, Ithaca, N. Y.
Winsor, Justin, Librarian, Harvard College, Cambridge, Mass.
Wright, Col. Carroll D., Bureau of Statistics, Boston, Mass.

PRIVATE SESSION.

After the enrolment of members, the American Historical Association, now fully organized, met for a private literary session in the large parlor of the United States Hotel, at 10 A. M.,—President White in the chair; thirty persons present. The Secretary announced the programme of exercises for the day, which was to conclude the first convention of the American Historical Association.

The first paper, presented in abstract, was by Dr. Edward Channing, Instructor of History in Harvard College, on "Town and County Government in the English Colonies of North America." This was the Toppan Prize Essay at Harvard College, for the year 1883, a prize of \$150, for the best paper on one of three assigned subjects in political science, being offered to graduate students who have pursued a regular course of study at Harvard University during the year preceding the award of the prize, and also to undergraduate seniors. This prize essay has been published in full in the Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science, 2d Series, No. 10. (October, 1884), the essay having been read before the Historical and Political Science Association of that University, February 22, 1884. The following is a brief abstract:

Dr. Channing maintained that the founders of the English colonies of North America brought to their new homes the experience in the management of local

concerns which they had inherited from their ancestors, and which they applied to local government on this side the water so far as the peculiar conditions (economic, ecclesiastic, and agrarian) of their colonial environment would permit. The institution which was the connecting link between institutions of the mother country and those of the colonies was, in his opinion, the parish as it existed at common-law in England in 1580-1640. Parish-meeting was the prototype of the Massachusetts town-meeting, while the committee of assistance developed into the select vestry, not only of Virginia but of England of the present day, and offers the only suggestion as to the origin of the selectmen of New England.

He then described the founding of one Massachusetts town, wherein at an early day the parish-meeting of old England was reproduced in all essentials. With regard to Virginia no such history could be given—owing, probably, to the lack of material,—for a careful study of the laws of that colony seems to show that something very similar to the parish-meeting was held in an early time, but that this had been superseded by a committee elected by the parishioners, which, by being empowered to fill vacancies in its own body, had become the select vestry. He closed by giving a minute comparison of the local systems of England in 1600, and of Virginia and Massachusetts in 1765, which gave strong confirmation to the idea that the Massachusetts town with its town-meeting and selectmen, and the Virginia parish with its select vestrymen, were both the children of the same parent—the English parish at common-law in 1600.

A discussion of this paper followed. Mr. Charles Deane, Judge Chamberlain, and Dr. H. B. Adams participated. Mr. Charles Deane, Vice-President of the Massachusetts Historical Society, expressed the great pleasure he had felt in listening to the paper which had just been read. As connected with the subject of the origin of New England towns he had been requested, since he came into the room, to give some account, briefly, of the treatment of this subject by the writer of the report of the Council at the April meeting of the American Antiquarian Society, Judge Aldrich, who held to the view that these institutions were quite unlike any existing models, but were original creations formed to meet the exact wants of the settlers of a new and uninhabited country, and the founders of a state. This opinion is coincident with that of the late Judge Joel Parker, expressed in a paper on "The Origin, Organization, and Influence of the Towns of New England," read before the Massachusetts Historical Society in 1865. Judge Aldrich cited the opinions of various writers, who

held different theories—notably the late Richard Frothingham, of Charlestown, in a paper read before the Antiquarian Society, Professor Stubbs, Mr. Freeman, Sir Henry Maine, and others, who thought they had discovered the original model of New England towns in certain primitive institutions of Europe. He also cited the opinions expressed by the President of the American Association for the Advancement of Science, in his inaugural address at the opening meeting of the Association in 1880, who, in saying that New England was the birthplace of American institutions, added that here was developed the township with its local self-government, that upon the township was formed the county, that upon the counties was formed the State, and upon the State the nation. He thought this a most remarkable genesis of town, county, State, and nation, being a theory borrowed from the scientist, who would speak of towns as the primordial cells out of which the State and nation have been evolved. Judge Aldrich then proceeded to show that the right to establish New England towns was derived from the colonial government, which granted them the land and gave to them all the rights of local government which they possessed, that towns are in every instance dependent on the State government for their existence, and that they grew under the guardianship of the State and gradually developed according to their needs.

Mr. Deane said that this was a very imperfect sketch of Judge Aldrich's paper, but he had no time or ability, being thus suddenly called upon, to give even an adequate *résumé* of the paper.

Judge Mellen Chamberlain, Librarian of the Boston Public Library, said he had little or nothing to add to the interesting essay to which we have just listened. Discrimination is needful in treating of the origin of our institutions. Family pride may be gratified by the assurance of the genealogist that one's ancestors came over with the Conqueror, or that their names are recorded on the rolls of Battle Abbey; and so it is with national pride, which seeks to connect national institutions with the beginning of things...

What did the first comers to these shores bring with them? So far as those who came to Massachusetts-Bay colony are concerned, we know with some exactness; for the records have preserved a list of articles to be provided for the colonists, in view of their intended emigration into a wilderness. They were such things as the projectors of the enterprise supposed would be needed by the corporation in the prosecution of its work in subduing a new country, selling lands, and planting the gospel.

Of course they needed all kinds of clothing, implements for building habitations and for working the soil; for surveying lands, and seeds for planting them. Nor were cattle and domestic animals overlooked. They made a memorandum of these wants. They needed a minister, inasmuch as the conversion of the heathen was one of the reasons specified for granting the charter. A minister is on their schedule. The sale of lands was one of the means by which the capitalists expected reimbursement for their investment, and they contracted with a surveyor for his services. They hoped to make pitch, salt, and wine, and skilled laborers in these departments of industry were to be engaged. Such were some of their needs, and these things they brought with them.

But they brought neither an English town nor a town-meeting, nor a board of selectmen; neither an established church nor parochial schools; neither representative government, and perhaps not even the common-law. Yet in time they came to have all these. But at first so little did they understand the essential nature of town governments that when they undertook to establish them they violated a fundamental principle of English law, which forbids a corporation, which they were, to create corporations, which towns were. They assumed a prerogative which belongs to the king only. So little did they anticipate the necessity of representative government that, when they established it, they clearly violated their charter and usurped powers not granted by it. All members of the company were voters, but without the power of delegating their authority

to representatives. Did they bring the common-law with them? Their first law book cites the authority of Moses—not that of Lord Coke; and when the people had expressed their desire for a body of law, Governor Winthrop, in 1639, gave as one of the reasons for non-compliance, that it was thought best that a common-law should arise out of their necessities rather than be transferred from England.

It would seem, therefore, that our ancestors brought with them not English institutions, but English principles. They brought with them English cereals and English flora. Whether they planted these or not would depend upon circumstances, but when planted, whether soon or late, they grew in the soil of New England as they had grown in the soil of old England. And so they brought with them English principles which entered into and unfolded themselves in all the institutions which have grown up among us.

As has been said, they brought with them neither a town, nor a church, nor a school, but when these came to be needed they were formed on the principles which regulated the construction and growth of their English, perhaps their Saxon, equivalents or prototypes. Race qualities are never wholly lost, nor are they essentially modified; and when circumstances require action under new conditions, that action, in its principles, will conform to the customary action of the race.

Dr. H. B. Adams, of Johns Hopkins University, said that Dr. Channing's explanation of the origin of New England towns in the common-law parish of the sixteenth century was quite in harmony with his own view concerning the "Germanic Origin of New England Towns," originally expressed in a monograph bearing that title. Dr. Channing had strongly and justly emphasized the English parish as the immediate parent of the New England town, but Bishop Stubbs and other writers had clearly shown that the English parish was but an historical transformation of the earlier English *Tun*, which was again but a survival of the Germanic village community. Early Germanic institutions stand related to English and American institutions, as

ancient Germany and mediæval England stand related to modern America. It would be as difficult to account for English modes of self-government in our towns, parishes, and counties upon this side of the Atlantic, without reference to English origins, as it would be to account for our English speech, our common law, and our Christian religion upon the theory of local adaptations to American wants. Not only have New England towns their actual historic prototypes, but there is not a feature of early New England town life which had not some corresponding feature in the municipal institutions of old England. Town-meeting, selectmen, parish committees, constables, tithingmen, wardens, field-drivers, haywards, fence-viewers, hog-reeves, swineherds, cowherds, shepherds, dog-whippers, deer-reeves, corders of wood, cullers of fish, sealers of weights and measures, valuers of wheat, inspectors of brick, and inspectors of strangers, clerk of the hay-market, town clerk, town treasurer, town crier, and even the town pump,—all these institutions, and many more besides them, which may be found in the local history of New England, may also be found in the local history of Old England. And yet some writers would have us believe that New England town institutions are Yankee inventions.

What constitutes a New England town if not a complex of local and self-governing municipal institutions? Surely the colonial legislatures of Plymouth and Massachusetts did not create the idea of town- and parish-meeting, which is the very heart of our local life. Certainly Dorchester and Charlestown and Salem did not invent selectmen or the idea of a parish committee. The truth is, these institutions sprang into being as naturally as English wheat on New England soil. Local government in towns and villages was already planted here in many instances before the colonial government saw fit to recognize it. There are many old Massachusetts towns that were never formally recognized at all, and yet there they stand to this day; they need no defence in law, no reiteration of fact. Undoubtedly the Massachusetts Company, which was originally a joint-stock

company, the historical outgrowth of the merchant guild of mediæval cities, exercised paramount authority over the towns around Massachusetts Bay; but whether this mercantile *corporation* of Massachusetts created these *towns* in law or in fact is quite a different matter. No *ex post facto* patent can explain the genesis of local institutions in the ancient town of Plymouth, and no chartered corporation nor colonial law can explain the archaic communal institutions either of the Plymouth or of the Massachusetts towns. There are facts in New England local life which are best explained, not by colonial law, but by the common law of England.

Mr. Charles H. Levermore, a Yale graduate, now holding a Fellowship in the Historical Department of the Johns Hopkins University, read a paper on "The Founders of New Haven." This essay was a selection from the introductory pages of a monograph upon "The Republic of New Haven." The work, which is yet unfinished, is based upon a laborious personal examination of the New Haven Town Records from 1638 to the present day. All of these archives, subsequent to the year 1650, are still in manuscript. The results of this research will be embodied in contributions to the Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science, Third Series, and also in a chapter on the "New Haven Municipality" in the forthcoming "History of New Haven," to be issued under the editorial supervision of the Rev. E. E. Atwater. The following is an abstract of the essay read:

The roots of the Quinnipiac colony derived nourishment from widely sundered soils, from Kent, from Herefordshire, from Yorkshire, but especially from the Puritan congregation in St. Stephen's Church, Coleman Street, London, where John Davenport ministered, and where Theophilus Eaton was a parishioner. Any survey of the continuous development of New Haven is incomplete that fails to do justice to these two men. Around their vigorous personalities the original settlement clustered, and their virile impress is not to be effaced. Mr. Davenport's intellectual lineaments were sketched: He was a well-nurtured, well-cultured man, judicious in action, and capable of inspiring feelings of loyal attachment. An aristocrat in the true sense of the word, he felt and spoke as a king among men. His decisions, when once determined, were added by him to the stock of positive knowledge, and were upheld with a

confidence and persistence that brooked no contradiction, admitted no exception. As a Calvinist, he distrusted Humanity. A comparison between the Rev. Messrs. Hooker and Davenport shows that Hooker was naturally democratic, devoted to English traditions of popular rule, a political as well as a religious Puritan. But Davenport, though of finer fibre than Hooker, was a republican because he was first a Non-conformist.

After adverting to the resemblances between Davenport and John Cotton, and to the spirit with which the former encountered the changed conditions of existence, the paper closed with a portraiture of the Moses of Mr. Davenport's Israel, Theophilus Eaton. Naturally conservative, Mr. Eaton's experience in mercantile life as a manager of men heightened his distrust of the turbulence and tyranny so manifest, upon the one hand and the other, in English public life. As Puritans, Eaton and Davenport had learned to despise and dread English laws and precedents, too often the instruments of oppression. But in the theocracy that they instituted, class distinctions were at once narrow and fundamental, and a ruling caste of Brahmins was created.

Mr. Eaton's independent spirit was responsible for the abolition of jury-trials. Like the elder Winthrop, he believed in the exaltation of the Magistracy, and in the concentration of power in the hands of the few. He was cautious and dignified, a man of indomitable energy, and obstinate even to arrogance. Outside the circle of his friends he was impartially condescending. The irritated Stuyvesant complained: "He rips up all my faults as if I were a scholeboy." But those to whom Mr. Eaton opened his soul have left their witness of his gentleness, integrity, and lovable manliness. The connection of both Eaton and Davenport with the mercantile and educational development of their community was touched upon. No mistakes in their methods can tarnish the attractiveness of their moral and intellectual strength.

President White remarked that ability seemed to be an inheritance of the Davenport family. He knew some of them who had occupied positions of honor in the community, and it was an interesting fact that their most prominent characteristics were the very ones that Mr. Levermore had ascribed to their eminent ancestor. He recognized, in particular, the firm will, the tenacity of purpose, and the tendency to uphold individual judgment as absolute truth. There might be an interesting study of the Davenport genealogy which would trace the re-appearance of these intellectual lineaments in each generation.

Professor Crane of Cornell University read a paper on "Some New Sources of Mediæval History," of which the following is an abstract:

The study of mediæval history can be pursued with unusual advantages and profit by the American student, owing to the absence of national and religious

prejudices, which, in Germany, France, and England, have produced distorted views and thrown discredit upon this branch of studies. This study is at present too much neglected in this country; the mediæval period being either entirely overlooked in our schools, or a very limited portion of it being incorrectly taken as typical. The field should be a very attractive one to American scholars, both from the large amount of new material recently published, and also from the new methods applied to old material. For example, local traditions, popular songs and folk-tales may often contain historical elements. In Sicily the memory of Dionysius, of Frederick II., of the Sicilian Vespers, is still preserved by the people; and sometimes these popular versions contain details not to be found in written history. A still more curious source of mediæval history is to be found in the habit preachers of that time had of enlivening their sermons by the introduction of stories. These were generally of little historical value, but collections were soon made of anecdotes for the use of preachers, and some of these contain invaluable materials for history.

This new method of study will react favorably upon the study of our own history, and encourage the collection of local traditions, folk-songs and tales, of which an excellent beginning has already been made in Allen's slave-songs, Newell's songs and games of American children, Mr. Harris's "Uncle Remus," etc.

Dr. Francke, of Harvard University, gave a report of the progress of the *Monumenta Germaniæ Historica*, that great collection of German historical sources of the middle ages, which was founded in 1819 by the private munificence of the noble Baron vom Stein, but is now supported by the German as well as the Austrian Government. The work is divided into the following five sections: *Scriptores*, *Leges*, *Diplomata*, *Antiquitates*, *Epistolæ*; each section is under the care of a prominent scholar, supported by several assistants. Among the recent publications of the section of *Epistolæ*, which is under the direction of Professor Wattenbach, of Berlin, Dr. Francke mentioned a large collection of hitherto unknown letters, of the popes Gregory IX. and Innocent IV., copied in the Vatican archives and published by Dr. Rodenberg. The *Antiquitates* are under the guidance of Professor Dümmler, of Halle, who recently published a very valuable collection of Latin poetry of the time of Charlemagne. The *Diplomata*, under Professor Sickel, of Vienna, contain now the imperial documents as far as the Saxon period; most remarkable documents have been reproduced in fac-similes. The sections of both the *Leges* and the *Scriptores* have their headquarters in Berlin, and are led

by Professor Waitz, who is also the president of the whole association. Among the most remarkable publications of the *Leges* is Dr. Zeumer's collection of the so-called *Formulæ*, by which people of the middle-ages made up for the want of a general code. Dr. Zeumer's edition surpasses de Rozière's well-known work in correctness of the text as well as in arrangement of the materials. The last volumes of the *Scriptores* contain extracts from the French and the English writers of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, as far as they concern German affairs. Dr. Holder-Egger, who has done very valuable service in editing these volumes, is now preparing the first complete edition of Salimbene's important chronicle. Besides this a collection of the polemic pamphlets of the eleventh and twelfth centuries, and a critical edition of the famous *Liber Pontificalis* are in preparation. The latter is to be given by Professor Waitz himself, and it is believed that he will make Muratori's edition henceforth superfluous.

The *Monumenta* comprehend now about forty volumes in folio and large quarto. This work is a sign of the uprising of national spirit, which has displayed itself in Germany, especially since the foundation of the new Empire.

Professor C. K. Adams said he could not refrain from expressing the gratitude he felt, and what he believed to be the gratitude of every member of the Association, at hearing this interesting account of what is being done by the distinguished historical scholars of Germany to make the records of their country accessible to students of history everywhere. All who have had occasion to use the *Monumenta* are aware not only of the great intrinsic importance of the documents there preserved, but also of the rare discrimination and scholarship with which they have been selected and edited. The work, as one of the very highest importance, is entitled to our grateful recognition. May we not esteem it as a happy omen that this Historical Association thus receives at its first meeting what it may fairly regard as in some sense the encouraging greeting of that distinguished association of historical scholars in Germany? It

must add to the pleasure of all those present to have so interesting an account—and what is in every way remarkable, in such choice and faultless English, by one who has been only a few weeks among English-speaking people—of the great work, in the prosecution of which he has himself been associated.

Mr. Winsor gave an account of the incipency and progress of the *Narrative and Critical History of America*. The success of the coöperative plan, by which specialists were brought to present in unison the various phases of the history of Boston, all subordinated to the direction of an editor, suggested the application of a similar combination to the writing of the History of the American Continent. In distinctive treatment of the theme, however, the plan of the *America* is quite different from the *Memorial History of Boston*; indeed, different from any existing history of large scope, inasmuch as the chief aim of the book is to offer a critical and bibliographical examination of all the sources of information, and an exposition of the authorities based on original material, or presenting in some distinguishable way the more common knowledge of the subject. The narrative of events is not overlooked, but is given as a condensed summary of the best existing knowledge. The graphic illustrations are to be very numerous, and nothing in the way of imaginary or idealized pictorial design is to be allowed. Conceiving that the early maps, as illustrating the waning of error and the gradual development of truth in respect to geographical ideas, are a most important source of original material, which has been largely neglected by historians, the editor provides a more thorough examination of the early Cartography than has been before made, while facsimiles and sketches of very many maps are given.

The editor has behind him a Committee of Conference, appointed by the Massachusetts Historical Society, consisting of the Hon. Robert C. Winthrop, Rev. George E. Ellis, D.D., Charles Deane, LL.D., Professor H. W. Torrey, and Francis Parkman. The writers selected represent the prin-

cial historical, antiquarian, and archæological societies in the country, and some of those in Europe whose field covers American subjects. Eight large volumes are so far provided for, and of these the third and fourth, pertaining to the English, French, Portuguese (in part), and Swedish discoveries and settlements, are already printed, but not yet published. The second volume, covering the early Spanish history of the continent, is now going through the press, and two other volumes are in progress.

Dr. H. B. Adams, of Johns Hopkins University, exhibited a volume of historical proceedings which had been brought to Saratoga from the library of the Rhode Island Historical Society by Dr. C. W. Parsons. Dr. Adams said it might interest the members of the *American Historical Association* to learn that there was once in this country an "*American Historical Society*," having its seat in Washington, D. C., and occasional meetings in the House of Representatives at the Capitol. The Society was founded in the year 1836. Its first President was John Quincy Adams, and its most active member was probably Peter Force, to whom this country owes a great debt of gratitude for the publication of many rare tracts relating to our early colonial history, and for his laborious work in collecting the "*American Archives*." A large portion of the first volume of the *Transactions of the American Historical Society* consists of reprints by Peter Force of such ancient memoirs and historical tracts as appear in his own well-known collections, so that we may properly associate the work of the first American Historical Society with the most valuable line of historical publication ever undertaken in this country—for the individual work of Peter Force, in connection with this Society of Washington residents and politicians, who met in the House of Representatives, developed into a national undertaking. Although publication of the "*American Archives*" by the general government was long ago suspended, it is important to remember that many volumes of state papers collected by Peter Force yet remain for publication, and that possibly some influence can be exerted upon Congress by

the new Association toward the resumption of a good work left unfinished. The old Society, while national in name, was really a local organization of residents in Washington City, with a few honorary members in the individual States and in various European countries. This new Society is to be a national association of active workers from many local centres of academic learning and corporate influence. Although without a local habitation, it will doubtless soon have a good name in the land which gave it birth, and it will probably enjoy a longer life and greater usefulness than did its Washington predecessor, a Society whose life-work was confined to a few annual addresses by distinguished politicians, and to reprints of papers not its own. An active, creative spirit is the one thing needful in the American Historical Association which is now to be. Other societies, together with the State and National governments, will continue to attend to the publication of archives; but this new Association is designed for original work.

SECOND PUBLIC SESSION.

At four o'clock in the afternoon the Association met for its last session, which was open to the public, President White in the chair. Letters were read by the Secretary from Bishop C. F. Robertson, of Missouri, and from the Secretaries of various historical societies, commending the organization of the American Historical Association and promising cordial support. Professor Moses Coit Tyler delivered an address on "The Influence of Thomas Paine on the Popular Resolution for Independence."

The student of the American Revolution has to confront a notable problem presented by the transition which American public opinion made during the last six months of 1775 and the first six months of 1776, from abhorrence and disavowal of the idea of independence, to its complete adoption and promulgation. Prior to April 19, 1775, no public body and no public man had spoken of independence except to protest against it. On May 26th, the very Congress which then resolved that the colonies "be immediately put into a state of defence," also voted "an humble and dutiful petition to his Majesty," and declared themselves as "ardently wishing for a restoration of harmony." The Americans who fought at Bunker Hill on the 17th of June fought not for inde-

pendence, but for the overthrow of an unjust ministerial policy. Washington's commission as Commander-in-chief, on the 19th of June, contained no intimation that he was to fight for independence; while his military associates in Virginia, who sent him a letter on the 20th of July, prayed that all his "counsels and operations" might be directed by Providence "to a happy and lasting union between us and Great Britain." As late as the 19th of October, when Dr. Jeremy Belknap visited the patriot camp, he prayed publicly for the king, and seemed surprised to find that this was no longer agreeable to many in the army. On the 25th of December the Legislature of New Hampshire declared that "aiming at independence" was a thing "which we totally disavow." And yet in little more than six months from that disavowal the public mind had been quite carried over to the resolution for independence.

How is this rapid transition to be accounted for? Of course many influences were at work to produce it;—greatest of all, the alienating policy of the king and ministry, and the harsh proceedings of their troops. But among all the influences toward independence, operating between January and July, 1776, the student cannot fail to recognize that of Thomas Paine's pamphlet, "*Common-Sense*." The object of this paper is to trace that influence as indicated, not in later assertions or denials, but in the correspondence and newspapers of the time.

Paine had arrived in this country in December, 1774, an obscure and impoverished English adventurer, thirty-seven years old, and chiefly anxious "to procure a subsistence at least." In just one year this stranger had so well mastered the American problem that he was able to take the lead in its discussion by writing "*Common-Sense*." This was first published anonymously early in January, 1776. The pamphlet was happily named. It undertook simply to apply common-sense to a technical, complex, but most urgent and feverish problem of constitutional law. In fact, on any other ground than that of common-sense, the author was incompetent to deal with the problem at all; since, of law, of political science, and even of English and American history, he was ludicrously ignorant. But for the effective treatment of any question whatsoever under the light of the broad and rugged intellectual instincts of mankind,—man's natural sense of truth, of congruity, of fair-play,—perhaps no man then in America, excepting Franklin, was a match for this ill-taught, heady, and slashing English castaway.

Mr. Tyler then proceeded to give an analysis of the pamphlet, together with citations from it, to show the tact, humor, plausibility, and force with which it met the common objections to independence, and appealed to the self-respect and ambition of the American people for a national career of their own. Having thus indicated how exactly the pamphlet was adapted to the intellectual need of the hour, the speaker gave in detail and in chronological order numerous extracts from letters and newspapers between January and June, 1776, as evidence of the enormous immediate influence of the pamphlet; culminating in the statement of William Gordon, on June 7th, to the effect that of all the "publications which * * * have promoted the spirit of independency," none had done "so much as the pamphlet under the signature of '*Common-Sense*.'" This statement of Gordon's, made on the very day on which Lee's resolutions for independence were introduced into Congress, completes the

chain of contemporary testimony as to the influence of Thomas Paine on the popular resolution for independence.

Professor Austin Scott of Rutgers College then read a paper on "Constitutional Growth in the United States," a summary of lectures originally delivered before students in Baltimore. The following is a brief abstract :

The force which gives the unity of continuous development to the political life of the American people has an origin deeper than the causes which divide American history into distinct periods, deeper than the consciousness of any one generation, and deeper than the hopes and fears and actions of parties. This formative principle may be termed the *Federative Principle*. Carrying the etymology of the word "federative" back of the Latin *fœdus*, with the limited meaning of league or compact, to the Sanskrit "bandh," in which lies the single thought of union, and adding the causative ending "ative," we have the union-forming principle, that which produces a constant uniting. The Federative Principle implies the existence of opposing tendencies active within a superior agency, which is capable of regulating their mutual aggression and of securing their harmony. Over the two historical forces, *Nationalism* and *Localism*, the Federative Principle asserts its supremacy, and in the Constitution of the United States gives them *simultaneous, correlated, and adequate* expression.

The principle takes its rise in the beginning of that process of differentiation by which English national self-government became in America at once national and local. In every stage of the growth of self-government in America, Nationalism and Separatism were to a greater or less degree conditioned each upon the other. For example, an American national feeling had its germ in the common feeling of responsibility for local self-government in which the several colonies shared. Further, the early attempts at union were measures of defence for the separate colonies. Again, the self-consciousness which the French war of 1760 developed throughout the colonies as a whole, found its points of concentration in the local centres. So, too, the resistance in 1765 against the Stamp Act, and later against the Tea Tax. The national spirit which declared independence was nurtured in the local schools of self-government, and the Declaration itself was a protest against nationalism as the exclusive idea in the State.

The Articles of Confederation were an imperfect expression of the Federative Principle. The relations of its two factors were not yet so adjusted as to allow of their free reciprocal action, but both were recognized, and in such a way that each secured the other from ultimate destruction. The separate States are confessedly not equal to the task of governing a continent, yet the spirit of localism in this confederation dominates the sources of the national life, and allows of no system of national law adequate to the acknowledged jurisdiction of Congress. But the fourth of the articles, by providing "for the people of the different States in this Union" the fullest inter-citizenship, begins the formation of indefeasible relations between the national spirit and individuals, and thus promotes national growth.

Under the operation of the Articles of Confederation, both *Nationalism* and *Localism* by different processes increase each its original determinative strength,

and the danger arises that either alone may force a union of but partial means and incapable of the highest ends. The Federative Principle by its own creative energy chooses the time and method of its complete self-assertion, and in the Federal Convention brings both its factors to the work of "forming the more perfect union." The interest of each is now made to include the highest welfare of the other, and in the Constitution of the United States both Nationalism and Localism find simultaneous, correlated, and adequate expression. Though their methods are in constant warfare, their aim is one, the good of the individual, who in his dual relation is an epitome of the controlling principle.

The growth of the Federative Principle has brought with it a new "refinement in social policy, the greatest to which any age has ever given birth" (Brougham),—the power of the judiciary, under certain conditions, to pronounce upon the constitutionality of the laws, "a security to the justice of the State against its power," (Burke). Now the Federative Principle, as the mediator between the two forces, is preëminently a principle of justice, and this function of the court becomes its servant. The decision is now National, now in favor of the State, and thus through interpretation the Constitution is developed, and the two forces have as free play in the judicial as in the more strictly political action.

There are seven periods in the action of this principle since it first found free scope by the adoption of the Constitution: (1) 1789 to 1801, the period of self-assertion of the national idea and of reaction. (2) 1801 to 1817, the period when parties show themselves subordinate to the Federative Principle. (3) 1817 to 1829, "the era of good feeling," a transition period in which political adjustments of Nationalism and Localism are tentative rather than decisive. Constitutional development during this period is mainly found in the decisions of the Supreme Court, which view the Constitution as a law of laws emanating directly from the people, not as a compact. (4) 1829 to 1841, the new generation. Through the extension of suffrage and answering to the demands of both Nationalism and Localism comes the power of the masses. (5) 1841 to 1849. The first exercise of this power with a definite purpose is to adjust the new economic and industrial forces to the political forces, and, by acquiring Texas and the Pacific coast, to extend the republic to the borders of the continent. (6) 1849 to 1861. In the sixth period culminated a growth of Sectionalism, opposed to the guiding principle of the Constitution and a hindrance to the free activities of its two elements. Slavery up to 1820 connects itself with the State element; from that time its tendency is to become National. The Kansas-Nebraska bill and the Dred Scott decision nationalize slavery; but slavery could not be true to either idea exclusively, for it was from the first a sectional element unknown to the Federative Principle. (7) 1861 to 1884. The assertion of the right of a State to secede from the Union was an attempt to wrest Localism from its true purpose and from its historical and constitutional relations. To restore in all the land its proper sway as well as that of Nationalism the sectional rebellion was fought down. In this work national powers were pushed to an extreme not warranted by the Constitution (decisions of the Supreme Court on Civil Rights Act, Election Acts of 1870, and "Force Bill"). The recent Legal-Tender decision confirms Nationalism in its use of large powers. "It clothes Congress with imperial power" (Secretary Me-

Culloch). But in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments there is "no purpose to destroy the main features of the general system" (decision in Slaughter-house cases).

A complete harmony of the two elements of the Federative Principle can never be realized; but the tendency is ever toward harmony, thus placing before our hopes an ideal state. In constructing his ideal republic, Plato rejects discordant powers and forces which would bring false harmonies, and leaves but two essential elements—"these two harmonies I ask you to leave; the strain of necessity and the strain of freedom, the strain of courage and the strain of temperance"—in our state, national will and local self-rule—the one Federative Principle.

After the conclusion of Dr. Scott's paper, the American Historical Association adjourned *sine die*.

RESOLUTIONS OF THE EXECUTIVE COUNCIL.

A meeting of the Executive Council was held during the evening of the last day, September 10th, of the first annual convention of the American Historical Association, to determine the future policy of the new society. It was resolved:

1. That the time and place of the next meeting be decided by a committee of three members of the Executive Council, said committee to consist of the President, A. D. White; the First Vice-President, Justin Winsor; and the Secretary, H. B. Adams.

2. That the Secretary be instructed to prepare and publish an official report of the organization and proceedings at Saratoga, with abstracts of all papers read.

3. That such papers of the Association as may be accepted for the purpose be published in monographic, serial form, with a view to collecting these publications in a series of volumes.

4. That papers which are to be offered for reading to the Association, at any of its meetings, be first sent, at least in abstract, to the Secretary, and that such papers or abstracts be by him referred to a special committee of one or more for examination.

5. That nominations for election be referred by the Secretary to the Executive Council.

6. That, in the opinion of the Council, there is nothing in the Constitution of the American Historical Association to prevent the admission of women into the Association upon the same qualifications as those required of men.

FULL LIST OF MEMBERS.

The following alphabetical list represents the present membership of the American Historical Association, including the original members, who were enrolled at its organization, September 10, 1884, and all persons elected by the Council since that date, who have either sent letters of acceptance to the Secretary, or who have paid their fees to the Treasurer:

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| Adams, Charles Francis, Jr., Esq.,
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| Adams, Professor Charles Kendall,
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Mich. | Beckwith, Hiram W., Esq., Danville,
Ill. |
| Adams, Professor George B., Drury
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Mass. | Brearley, William H., Esq., <i>The
Evening News</i> , Detroit, Mich. |
| Bagg, Dr. M. M., Secretary of Oneida
Historical Society, Utica, N. Y. | Brevoort, J. Carson, Esq., Brooklyn,
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| Baird, Rev. Charles W., D.D., Rye,
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Minn. | Brown, Hon. E. Lakin, Schoolcraft,
Mich. |
| Bancroft, Hubert H., Esq., San Fran-
cisco, Cal. | Brown, General John Marshall, Port-
land, Me. |
| Barton, Edmund Mills, Esq., Librar-
ian American Antiquarian Society,
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- Browne, Dr. William Hand, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md.
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- Carter, Hon. Calvin H., Waterbury, Conn.
- Chamberlain, Judge Mellen, Boston Public Library, Mass.
- Channing, Dr. Edward, Harvard College, Cambridge, Mass.
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- Dewey, Davis R., Esq., Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md.
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- Durrett, R. T., Esq., Louisville, Ky.
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- Johnston, Colonel William Preston,
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- Jones, Colonel Charles C., Jr., Au-
gusta, Ga.
- Jones, Professor William Carey, Uni-
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- Joynes, Dr. Edward S., South Caro-
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